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Volume 18, No. 5 May 1990

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

Wilder and Jackson: Threads of One Cloth

Viewed From a Historical and Comparative Perspective, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson Have Far More in Common Than Pundits Suggest

Black Males and the Drug Trade: New Entrepreneurs or New Illusions?

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"I'm Not a Pork Barrel Politician"

On His 100th Day in Congress, U.S. Rep. Craig Washington From Houston Discussed a Broad Range of Issues With Editor David Ruffin

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Restructuring Schools to Save Our Children

Few issues are of greater urgency to the nation today than the performance of our public schools and the quality of education available to our young people. Our future as a society will depend on whether our schools can equip tomorrow's citizens to deal with the next century's challenges. At a May conference convened by the Joint Center, "Restructuring America's Public Schools: Implications for Black Children," educators, policy analysts, scholars, business executives, and education policy makers from every level of government examined the status of education in America and suggested alternatives to the present system. Part of a national debate on "restructuring," the conference is an extension of a major Joint Center initiative on education.

Blacks have a huge stake in any discussion of reform since they have been less well served by school systems than virtually any other segment of the population. Central to the discussion is the matter of equity. Too many schools located in black communities do not prepare black youths to contribute as citizens, to produce in the workplace, or to be fulfilled individuals. A critical question is whether our public schools will be gateways to opportunity for all or growing obstacles to achievement.

As policy makers consider reforms, they must factor the changing structure of American families into the equation. Increasingly, the children in public schools come from low-income families headed by single women or families where both parents work outside the home. These realities suggest a need for new approaches, such as opening schools earlier in the morning and continuing learning programs later in the day.

We must also ensure that in the process of reform we don't throw away effective programs that have proven their value over time. Head Start and Chapter 1 (compensatory education programs for students in elementary and secondary schools) are just two examples of strong programs that have demonstrated continuing performance but are grossly underfunded.

What is needed to effect reform is leadership, from the president and state governors on down--as well as public support for change. Whatever approaches are tried, they should be comprehensive, bringing together government officials, business leaders, and the public. Black Americans must weigh in to participate in this restructuring. While the black community has an enormous stake in the future of our schools, we are underrepresented as teachers, education administrators, school board officials, and policy makers. One of the Joint Center's objectives in its education initiative is to arm the public with information that will enable it to be a full partner in making change.

We need to keep sight of the fact that education policies must be humane, that they must address the needs of the whole child. We need to ensure that the reforms contemplated or undertaken under the rubric of restructuring meet the needs of black children. Our goal must be a system of public education that prepares our children to be confident, self sufficient adults, who have learned how to learn, and who are able to take their place in a changed and changing world. ■

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Wilder and Jackson: Threads of One Cloth

Viewed From a Historical and Comparative Perspective, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson Have Far More in Common Than Pundits Suggest

by Richard D. Shingles

The recent election of the publicly dispassionate Virginian Douglas Wilder as the nation's first black governor since Reconstruction has led to pronouncements about a new type of black leader, the "mainstream politician." Wilder has been contrasted with "older," more race-conscious civil rights leaders, personified by Jesse Jackson. Pundits are particularly fond of extolling the moderation of Wilder over the "excesses" of Jackson.

The comparison does a disservice to both politicians. It exaggerates their differences, distorts the meaning of "old" and "new" politics, and oversimplifies ideological divisions within the black community. It contributes to the erroneous tendency, created during the Reagan era, of branding openly liberal politicians, like Jackson, as extremists, and more circumspect politicians, like Wilder, as race-neutral conservatives.

Viewed from a historical and comparative perspective, the ideological differences separating Wilder from Jackson are neither large nor new. These men are like two threads of the same cloth when examined within the larger context of the black community and American political minorities generally. Political minorities may be defined as groups that have historically been excluded by prejudice and discrimination from positions of power and authority in society's major institutions. Most vulnerable are racial minorities and women who, because of identifiable physical attributes, have not found it possible (or necessarily desirable) to completely lose their unique identities in the "melting pot" of American society or to penetrate en masse the white old-boy networks dominating the principal routes to status and power.

Responses of Blacks to Prolonged Minority Status

Over time, minorities have responded to exclusion from power in a myriad of ways that extend along a broad ideological spectrum. It is helpful to distinguish between some common ideological types found among American political minorities. First and most important is the difference between *conservatives* and *reconstructionists*. Conservatives accept, uncritically, the dominant myth of America as a colorblind and gender-blind society which treats all groups equally. Reconstructionists do not. Conservatives believe individuals are primarily responsible for their own status. Reconstructionist hold the larger society primarily responsible. Whereas conservatives support the status quo, reconstructionists seek change.

Second, there are important distinctions between types of conservatives and types of reconstructionists. Among conservatives, we may differentiate between apolitical individuals whose apathy reinforces the status quo, genuine conservatives who actively support the status quo, and strategic conservatives who secretly share some of the views of reconstructionists but believe efforts to produce change are futile, even risky.

Reconstructionists may be readily divided into liberals and radicals. Both groups perceive the political majority (Euro-American men) to be prejudiced and believe American institutions discriminate on the basis of race or sex. However, liberals retain faith in the basic integrity of the majority and the guiding principles upon which the institutions rest (for example, democracy, capitalism, and the Judeo-Christian ethic). Consequently, the changes they propose are limited reforms, in which behavior is made to conform with principle.

Radicals believe reform is impossible because racism and sexism are intrinsic to the political majority or to one or more institutions. Accordingly, they advocate drastic change, involving the destruction and replacement of existing institutions or total separation from the political majority.

Finally, any classification must also recognize that the meaning of the labels conservative, liberal, and radical depends upon the type of issue being addressed. Wilder and Jackson are said to differ on two types of issues of great importance to African Americans: race relations and economic opportunity. Jackson is described as a "race man" who favors government programs to ensure equal opportunity. Wilder is depicted as race neutral and as a fiscal conservative who opposes further government initiatives.

The following discussion is organized in terms of traditional political views of race relations found within the black community since the time of slavery. Among them are conservatives (accommodationists), liberals (integrationists), and radicals (separatists). Within each of these

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Wilder and Jackson

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groups, we will note variations in economic attitudes—between economic conservatives (capitalists who believe government has no responsibility to solve social and economic problems), economic liberals (capitalists who think government has such a responsibility), and economic radicals (Marxists who advocate the abolition of capitalism). Given the wide spectrum of opinion in the black community, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson appear politically similar. They take liberal stands on both race relations and economic issues.

Conservatives

Accommodation (the decision not to oppose racism or sexism) is a common response to sustained repression. Slavery forced the vast majority of African Americans to accommodate themselves to inhuman conditions. Although there are many recorded examples of slave resistance in antebellum America (from rebellions to work slowdowns to arson and the poisoning of masters), the tedium of slave life, severe repression, and lack of resources (allies, education, money, and weapons) discouraged organized protests.

A similar situation developed during Post Reconstruction in the late nineteenth century. Southern blacks were systematically disempowered and reduced to a state of second class citizenship—an American apartheid. The leading black spokesperson of the era, Booker T. Washington, like many of his Southern black contemporaries, was a strategic accommodationist. While publicly acquiescing to racial segregation, he secretly attempted to undermine it by funding black resistance (largely through litigation).

Black accommodationists persist in the modern era, though in far fewer numbers. One of the more flagrant examples of modern black accommodation is the late Clarence Pendleton. As Reagan's chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Pendleton steadfastly opposed affirmative action. Under his direction, the commission was reduced to the role of apologist for the Reagan administration's policies of non-enforcement of civil rights. Many other accommodationists simply don't believe that blacks are deprived, while among those who do sense deprivation, many blame themselves or their group. Still other accommodationists continue to regard political protest as counter-productive. Political apathy is another major source of contemporary accommodation.

Historically, most blacks who have accommodated themselves to American racism have also been economically conservative. This is because those people who do not perceive any racial discrimination are unlikely to see a need for government guarantees of equal opportunity.

Liberal Reconstructionists

While most blacks were accommodationists at the turn of this century, a small group of liberals pressed for integration. They organized the Niagara Movement, which developed into the NAACP. Over time, their ranks swelled, paralleling the growth of the black middle class and the decline of more brutal forms of white racism. Black integrationists were prominent among freedmen during the American War of Independence and again during the First Reconstruction (1867-1877) following the Civil War.

Black integrationists range across the entire spectrum of economic positions. Although historically many have been conservative on economic issues, most are liberal compared to whites. One of the earliest integrationists to enunciate a liberal economic view was Thomas Fortune, the editor of the New York *Age*, a black newspaper that attacked discrimination in the 1890s. While advocating a doctrine of progress through thrift and hard work, Fortune vehemently criticized the government's complacency about the squalor and human misery of blacks during Post-Reconstruction. Finally, a very small but persistent faction of integrationists are Marxists. One of the first was A. Philip Randolph, who in 1922 ran for secretary of state of New York on the Socialist ticket.

During the 1960s, prominent civil rights activists, like Martin Luther King, who had previously ignored economic issues, came to realize that the right to eat in an integrated restaurant has no value if a person cannot afford the price of a meal. They began to actively campaign for government programs to alleviate poverty and ensure equal opportunity. Today, the great majority of black integrationists support these liberal economic policies. Most civil rights leaders and black elected officials—including Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson—fit into this niche.

Radical Reconstructionists

Whereas black liberals believe whites are capable of racial tolerance and typically support integration, radical reconstructionists believe whites are incorrigible and advocate separation. Black separatists or nationalists have always been present in American society, although in relatively small numbers. Historian August Meier suggests black nationalism increases in times of heightened racial tension and decreases in periods of relative racial harmony.

Nationalists vary in their attitudes toward economic issues—from cultural nationalists on the right to Marxists on the extreme left. Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan is the most prominent cultural nationalist today. His promotion of black capitalism and his calls for a black homeland in Africa have their roots in Marcus Garvey's movement of the 1920s and in a much smaller back-to-Africa movement of the 1840s and 1850s. The philosophy of "self-determination" exhibited by the Reverend George A. Stallings Jr., founder of the Afro-American Catholic Congregation, is a contemporary manifestation of a separatist church tradition dating back to Richard Allen's founding of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794.

Prominent on the far left is Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael), a nationalist who blends racial unity with socialism and Pan Africanism. The well known poet and

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May 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **The 1990 BEO *Roster* shows an expansion in the number of the nation's black officeholders as some gain electoral firsts in predominantly white jurisdictions.**
- **Ralph David Abernathy, who died last month, is remembered for his contributions and his shortcomings.**
- **Across the Nation: Arizona finally adopts a paid holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.; the race for congressional delegate in the District of Columbia heats up; Harvey Gantt of North Carolina faces a run-off in his bid for the U.S. Senate; Mayor Jessie Rattley of Newport News loses her bid for reelection.**

New BEOs Added to Roster Through Mainstream Votes

The 20th anniversary edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster,* soon to be released, shows continued growth in the number of our nation's black elected officeholders (BEOs). As of January 31, 1990, there were 7,370 black elected officials in the United States—an increase of 144 or 2.0 percent, compared to 5.8 percent in 1989.

As in 1989, the distribution of these officials parallels the geographic distribution of the black population. The South predominates, with 60.2 percent of the country's black population and 67.5 percent of its BEOs. The Midwest has the second largest concentration of BEOs, 17.7 percent, where 16.5 percent of the black population lives. The Northeast, by comparison, is somewhat underrepresented, since it has 15.7 percent of the black population but only 9.9 percent of the BEOs. The 10 states with the largest contingents of black elected officials are Alabama (705), Mississippi (669), Louisiana (527), Georgia (495), Illinois (461), North Carolina (453), South Carolina (396), Arkansas (344), Michigan (309), and Texas (305).

While the 1990 rate of increase is only a third of the rise in the previous year, some of the new entries in the *Roster* represent breakthroughs in black electoral progress. Election victories in several majority-white jurisdictions signalled shifts in the attitudes of white voters toward black candidates. Perhaps the most prominent example is L. DOUGLAS WILDER, who was elected governor of Virginia, the birthplace of American slavery. Wilder is the first black citizen to be elected governor in the continental United States. Meanwhile, DAVID DINKINS was inaugurated mayor of New York City, the nation's largest and most ethnically diverse metropolis, and NORMAN RICE was elected mayor of Seattle, which is only 10 percent black. In two of these elections, the black candidates defeated strong white opponents whose campaigns employed tactics designed to divide the electorate along racial lines. In New York, racial insults against Dinkins, uttered by comedian **JACKIE MASON** while campaigning for Republican mayoral candidate **RUDOLPH GIULIANI,** backfired as Dinkins stayed on the high road, campaigning to "heal a racially divided city." Because of his remarks, Mason was forced out of the Giuliani campaign. And in Seattle, Norman Rice pushed aside City Councilman **DOUGLAS JEWETT,** who had coauthored an anti-busing initiative that became the centerpiece of his mayoral campaign. Although the voters rejected Jewett, they adopted his initiative.

Other black mayoral candidates who won in predominantly white cities are: **JOHN DANIELS, JR.,** in New Haven, Connecticut; **CYNTHIA MOORE CHESTNUT** in Gainesville, Florida; and **CHARLES BOX** in Rockford, Illinois. They were among the seven new black mayors elected in cities with more than 50,000 residents. There are now 33 such black mayors.

Further efforts to expand opportunities for black candidates rest, in part, with the courts. In a Georgia case, *Tyrone Brooks* v *State Board of Elections,* a federal judicial panel ruled last year that 54 of Georgia's 137

superior court judgeships filled through at-large elections must be reviewed by the Justice Department for compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Atlanta chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed the suit, charged that the boundaries of the 54 judgeships were drawn in ways that dilute black voting strength. Created by state statutes between 1964 and 1989, the judgeships had not been precleared by Justice in accordance with Section 5 of the Act. Nevertheless, progress on the judicial front has generally been mixed. In May, a three-judge panel of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a ruling by U.S. District Judge **LUCIUS BUNTON,** who had ruled that Texas laws illegally diluted the voting strength of minority voters in judicial elections in nine urban Texas counties. The counties elect 172 of Texas's 390 district judges, and include the cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. Because of the circuit court decision, the election process in those counties will remain unchanged.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1990

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1988	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	705	11					5	18			71		15	31	409				1	13	41	6	6		2		86	1
Alaska	4	0						1							2												1	
Arizona	11	-1					1	2							3											1	4	
Arkansas	344	26					1	5						24	149			17		5	38					1	104	
California	281	5		4			2	6	4		7	1	2	9	49	6		4	1	78		1	1			16	89	1
Colorado	14	0					1	3							3					4		1					2	
Connecticut	66	3				1	2	5						3	31	5		2			2						15	
Delaware	22	-1					1	2						2	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	235	-7		1										1	10		215										8	
Florida	177	-2					2	9			12	2		14	92	2		2	1	21			1				17	2
Georgia	495	12		1			7	23			97		4	16	230	2		3	1	18	1	1	2			2	85	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	461	17		3		1	7	14			38	2	1	19	155	51		20		22		2				2	124	
Indiana	88	0					1	6			13			1	28		4	2		4							9	
Iowa	14	5					1				2				4							1				1	5	
Kansas	23	0					1	3			3				5	1				2							8	
Kentucky	70	2					1	1			1			1	51					2	2	1					10	
Louisiana	527	6					5	15			116	1		21	173			2		8	42	1	14		1		128	
Maine	2	-1												1	1													
Maryland	118	0		1			5	22			6			9	53	1	1		1	12		3					4	
Massachusetts	36	-2					1	5			1				12	6					1						10	
Michigan	309	3		2		1	2	14			24			11	77			17	1	53	4				1	14	88	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	2					4			1				3	
Mississippi	669	23		1		1	2	20			66	52	5	30	294			3	1	5	58	10	7				106	6
Missouri	169	6		2			3	13			3			15	96			5		10		2	2			2	18	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	2	-1						2																				
New Jersey	201	2		1			2	6			8		1	10	95												78	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	263	11		4			5	16			14			4	29	5				45	2	1					138	
North Carolina	453	4					3	14			44	2	1	18	259				1	20		3	4			1	83	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	209	-7		1			2	11			1	1		10	98	3		10		27					1		44	
Oklahoma	116	1					2	3			2		1	14	43			25		1			1				24	
Oregon	11	2					2	1			1				3	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	142	3		1			3	15						4	41			2	1	34	14	1					26	
Rhode Island	11	1					1	5							4												1	
South Carolina	396	23					5	16			70	3	2	17	144	1				1			5			1	131	
South Dakota	3	0												2	1													
Tennessee	149	3		1			3	10			47		1	3	46					9	6		1				22	
Texas	305	-7		1			1	13			17			12	125	1				16	23		1		2	5	86	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	0						2																				
Virginia	149	5			1		3	7			40		3	6	75			3				8	3					
Virgin Islands	35	0			1	1	9			14															10			
Washington	20	0					2	1			1			3	4					5							4	
West Virginia	25	1						1						1	19					2	1	1						
Wisconsin	22	-2					1	4			3				6					3			1				4	
Wyoming	2	0					1																				1	
Total	7,370	144	0	24	2	6	98	317	4	14	710	64	36	313	2,936	85	220	117	9	431	235	44	50	0	17	47	1,577	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1990*

Remembering Ralph David Abernathy

RALPH ABERNATHY died on April 17 of cardiac arrest at the age of 64. Abernathy's career as a civil rights leader began in 1955, when as a 29-year-old Baptist minister, he and MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. joined with other ministers to launch the Montgomery bus boycott. He remained at King's side through the many marches and demonstrations of the civil right struggle, including the historic march on Washington in 1963 and the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. Abernathy was also present on Selma's Edmund Pettus bridge 25 years ago when Alabama state troopers brutally attacked civil rights marchers who were demanding passage of the Voting Rights Act.

It was King in the forefront who so visibly and eloquently led the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the late 1950s and until his death in 1968, but Abernathy was usually the other man in the picture, the one standing behind King. They both shared a commitment to nonviolence, and both lived with the same threats and dangers. Abernathy was arrested and jailed with King on 17 occasions, and his Montgomery home was bombed in 1957, a year after King's was bombed. Abernathy was King's trusted friend and devoted lieutenant. When the assassin's bullet struck in 1968, King spent the last moments of his life in Abernathy's arms.

Abernathy reluctantly stepped in to take the helm of the SCLC, and the organization declined in significance during his decade of leadership, though it continued its attacks on poverty and unemployment begun by King. In the late 1960s and early 70s, Abernathy supported the California grape boycott led by United Farm Workers Union president **CESAR CHAVEZ,** and he stood with Vietnam war protesters in Chicago and Harrisburg. He led marches in Charleston, South Carolina, to support striking hospital workers there, and he headed up a 1969 voter registration drive in Alabama. Abernathy also helped bring together the Poor People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and in 1971 led a mule team march on the White House to oppose **RICHARD NIXON**'s secret expansion of the Vietnam war abroad while cutting social programs at home.

But Abernathy's fortunes plummeted and he spent most of the 1970s and 80s shadowed by political misfortune and weak health. Other lieutenants of Martin Luther King moved on to gain prominence in their own right. **ANDREW YOUNG,** now a Georgia gubernatorial candidate, was elected to Congress in 1972, beginning a history-making career as a national political figure. **JESSE JACKSON** went from PUSH to become a presidential candidate. Abernathy's star, meanwhile, did not rise any higher. In 1977 there was Abernathy's disastrous run for the congressional seat that Young had vacated to become President **JIMMY CARTER's** U.N. ambassador. At the eleventh hour of the 1980 campaign, Abernathy and civil rights activist Rev. **HOSEA WILLIAMS** endorsed **RONALD REAGAN** for president, without obtaining any apparent *quid pro quo* for poor or black Americans. Abernathy later suffered two strokes, in 1983 and in 1986. And last year he invited the denunciation of many Americans by writing in his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* about extramarital affairs that his friend Martin Luther King was alleged to have had. Few forgave him for this, and he was roundly rebuked by many black leaders, including the present leader of the SCLC, **JOSEPH LOWERY,** for committing an act of betrayal.
—by David C. Ruffin

CIVIL RIGHTS ALERT

With his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1990, now pending in Congress, **GEORGE BUSH** may be jeopardizing the good will he has engendered among black Americans. The Act is designed to overturn five Supreme Court rulings handed down last June that now make it more difficult for victims of employment discrimination to gain redress through the courts. Attorney General **RICHARD THORNBURG** has led the opposition to the Act by characterizing it as a "quota" bill. Bush has repeated that characterization, causing many in the black community to question what he meant when he said that he accepts the challenge to "live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement."

The main bone of contention is the *Wards Cove Packing Co. v Atonio* ruling, in which the Court reversed the 18-year precedent established in *Griggs v Duke Power Co.* The *Griggs* ruling permitted employees to use statistics to demonstrate that an employer used discriminatory practices in hiring or promotions, and placed on the employer the burden to prove that the practices had a business necessity. With *Wards Cove,* the Court has shifted onto employees the burden to prove a practice's discriminatory impact. Thornburg's position on "quotas" is similar to the one taken by the Reagan administration when it tried to halt affirmative action programs across the nation. Among those opposing Bush on this issue is **ARTHUR FLETCHER,** a black Republican and long-time Bush supporter whom Bush appointed to chair the Civil Rights Commission.

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: After years of resistance, Arizona is joining the 47 other states that honor DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. with a state holiday. On May 16, Democratic Governor ROSE MOFFORD signed legislation setting aside the third Monday in January as a paid King holiday, reaffirming an act she signed last year to the same effect. The current bill differs from last year's, however, by reestablishing Columbus Day as a paid holiday as well. The latter holiday had been eliminated in last year's legislation.

The controversy began in 1987 when, early in his term, then-governor **EVAN MECHAM** rescinded the King holiday which his Democratic predecessor, **BRUCE BABBITT,** had established in 1986 by executive order. Mecham, an ultra-conservative Republican, was later impeached and removed from office for unrelated reasons.

Last year, the reinstatement of the King holiday to the state calendar and the dropping of Columbus Day generated a backlash. The Holiday Referendum Committee, an anti-King citizens group headed by right-wing activist JULIAN SANDERS, joined forces with supporters of the Columbus Day holiday to collect more than enough signatures in a referendum to place the issue on the ballot this November. The referendum put the observance of the King holiday on hold. Sanders, an architect and contractor from Tempe, based his opposition on the unfounded assertion that the slain civil rights leader was a Marxist with ties to the Communist Party.

The legislature's action this May nullifies the referendum, but opponents of the holiday are allowed 90 days to collect enough signatures to place *another* referendum on the ballot. Mecham, who is running for governor again in a field of seven candidates, remains opposed to the King holiday and has committed his campaign volunteers to help gather signatures. Stay tuned.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Georgetown University law professor and long-time civil rights activist ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON has announced she will run for District of Columbia delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. Norton declared her intentions in April after incumbent delegate WALTER E. FAUNTROY announced his plans to retire from Congress in order to seek the D.C. mayor's seat. Both Norton and Fauntroy, who has been the District's delegate for 19 years, are Democrats.

The position of delegate from the District of Columbia, created by Congress in 1971, is one that precludes its holder from voting on the floor of the House. The District is not represented at all in the U.S. Senate. Whoever replaces Fauntroy will most likely pursue his fight for full voting representation in the Congress and for full statehood for the District of Columbia.

Norton began her civil rights activism working in the South with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s. As an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, she won several lawsuits opposing restriction of the First Amendment right of free speech. Norton chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Jimmy Carter, and she recently served as a member of the D.C. Committee on Public Education, which has written a report on the reform of the District's public schools.

Among the announced candidates she will face in the September 11 Democratic primary is DONALD TEMPLE, a black attorney with 10 years' experience as a senior congressional staffer. Active in political and community affairs, Temple is the publisher of the monthly newspaper, *Black Networking News*, which is based in Washington. He is also cofounder and former president of Concerned Black Men, a community service organization.

Other announced candidates in the Democratic race are: **BARBARA LETT SIMMONS,** a black former member of the District's board of education, **GEORGE X. CURE,** the legal advisor to the Nation of Islam's Dopebuster anti-drug program, and **BETTY ANN KANE,** a white at-large city councilmember.

Two Republicans have declared their candidacy as well: consultant **JIM CHAMPAGNE** and black attorney **HARRY SINGLETON.** Singleton drew the ire of civil rights organizations when he headed the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights under the Reagan administration. According to **GARY ORFIELD,** a school desegregation expert at the University of Chicago, Singleton intimidated his professional staff and directed them to ignore the failure of Southern state colleges to comply with longstanding desegregation plans. He left the Department in 1985 in the wake of a congressional hearing to review allegations of mismanagement.

NORTH CAROLINA: Black Democrat HARVEY GANTT, the former two-term mayor of Charlotte, will have to survive a June 5 run-off against district attorney MICHAEL EASLEY to win the right this November to challenge conservative Republican U.S. Senator JESSE HELMS. In the May 8 Democratic primary, Gantt led the field of six candidates with 38 percent of the vote. Easley, who hails from Southport and has a reputation as a drug busting prosecutor, only claimed 30 percent of the vote. Gantt's strength was in the cities—he carried Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem by wide margins. Both of the candidates espouse government activism in the areas of education and healthcare. They differ on the death penalty—Gantt is against it and Easley is for it.

Since neither of them won 40 percent of the vote, the threshold required by North Carolina to avoid a run-off, they will face each other again on June 5 to determine who will be the Democratic nominee. Mindful that past run-offs between black and white candidates in the 22-percent black state have been characterized by racially polarized voting, Gantt, calling for unity, asked Easley to withdraw from the contest—a request Easley declined. A divisive Democratic run-off could make it difficult for the winner to regroup and mount an effective campaign against Helms. Going into the run-off itself will be tough for both candidates, because each has already spent all the campaign money raised to date (less than $500,000 apiece).

VIRGINIA: All three of the women on the seven-member Newport News city council were defeated in the May 1 nonpartisan municipal election, including black mayor and council member JESSIE RATTLEY. (Council members choose one of their number to be mayor.) Rattley, black council member FLORA CRITTENDEN, and white council member MARGARET KEATOR failed to poll among the top four vote getters in a crowded field of 13 candidates. Rattley came in sixth. The three women were replaced by four white men who have had no government experience. The four new councilmen now join three white male incumbents to form an all-white, all-male council for the Tidewater city.

Rattley had become the city's first black and first female council member in 1970. She became the city's first black mayor in 1986. Until this month's defeat, she had been the city's top vote-getter on the council in every election since 1974. Local observers attribute her loss, in part, to a low voter turnout among the city's 32 percent black population. Only about 27,000 of the 66,000 registered voters cast ballots. However, there was a heavy voter turnout in several precincts in the mostly white northern section of the city.

Black Males and the Drug Trade: New Entrepreneurs or New Illusions?

Joint Center Conferees Report That Urban Drug Dealers Are Largely Addicts Who Earn Little by Their Trade and Fear Street Violence More Than Jail

by Katherine McFate

One of the most disheartening aspects of the crack epidemic is that the carriers of the plague so often come from within the communities victimized by it. The drug dealers on the corner are not strangers. They are kids from the neighborhood, a workmate's child, a cousin, a nephew, a son.

Drug selling appears to be one of the few growth industries in poor inner-city communities. If media images are accurate, it offers an attractive alternative to low-wage, unskilled employment for disadvantaged black and Latino men, pulling them out of the legitimate labor market. Yet what do we really know about the opportunities and costs of entering the drug trade? What financial rewards does it offer to an adolescent in a poor neighborhood? What proportion of inner city minority youths are involved in drug trafficking? Is dealing drugs a pathway out of their chronic poverty or just one more dead-end in lives already "nasty, brutish and short"?

At a Joint Center roundtable conducted last November 17, academic researchers from Detroit, New York, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C., met with congressional staff and policy makers from federal agencies to discuss these questions.

Expanding Markets and Distribution Networks

In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically. As supply rose and prices fell, the potential market of consumers broadened. Around the same time, smokeable "crack" cocaine, an inexpensive and highly addictive form of the drug, appeared in cities across the country. The number of casual cocaine users multiplied at the same time that deepening addiction to crack was heightening the demand for cocaine. Over the last five years, numerous distribution networks have emerged to move the enormous quantities of available cocaine to eager consumers.

There was no consensus among researchers at the roundtable about the extent to which the cocaine market is controlled by "corporate" gang organizations as opposed to "free-lance" dealers. Jeffrey Fagan, a sociologist at Rutgers University, argued that organized gang involvement has been exaggerated by the media. "Crack really is a deregulated market," he said. "It is totally open...people have open access [to] raw materials ...and [to] selling locations." Steve Rickman, from the Office of Criminal Justice in Washington, D.C., reported that although lucrative selling locations in his city are tightly guarded, "anyone can set up shop" on relatively unprofitable street corners.

But Carl Taylor, a criminologist at Michigan State University, told of one corporate-style gang in Detroit that had operated a $7.5 million weekly trade in heroin before diversifying to cocaine. Ansley Hamid, professor of anthropology at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, argued that such drug distribution networks can exist side-by-side with free-lance dealers and with user-sellers who deal to support their own habits. He said that in New York City, cocaine distribution networks vary by neighborhood.

Estimates of the number and proportion of central-city residents involved in drug dealing are difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, most of the researchers thought that it is reasonable to assume that about one in every six or seven youths in central-city neighborhoods sells drugs regularly. For example, a recent Rand Corporation study by Peter Reuter predicts that 16 percent of all black males in Washington, D.C., will be arrested and charged with drug selling before the age of 21.

Dealers' Wages: Poor for Most

Estimating the amount of income gained from illegal acts is difficult as well. Some researchers warn that when dealers discuss their income they are often giving figures for the "best day/best week" rather than an average or median over time. Income gained from drug dealing varies widely, depending on the time, effort, and skill of the individuals involved. Nonetheless, the researchers offered tentative estimates from their studies of street sales in New York City and Washington, D.C.

(Continued on page 6)

Ms. McFate is a research associate at the Joint Center.

Black Males and the Drug Trade

(Continued from page 5)

According to Phillippe Bourgois, an ethnographer from San Francisco State University, crack house workers in the East Harlem neighborhood that he studies make $50 to $75 for an eight-hour shift (or 50 cents a vial). Ansley Hamid said that street sellers in his New York City neighborhood received drugs on consignment; their sales were typically supervised by two "runners" who each earned about $100 for a 12-hour shift.

Clearly, there are those who make far higher sums in the trade. In a Rockefeller-funded study of several hundred adults arrested for selling drugs in Washington, D.C., street-level dealers reported that they could make $740 to $1000 a week. Much of this trade was conducted in the evenings, part-time, as a significant number of those arrested for dealing had legitimate day jobs. But Bruce Johnson of Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc., argued that probably "less than 20 percent of the people engaged in drug dealing have a net-worth cash return of as much as $1000 a month... Probably less than five percent of all people who deal drugs have a cash income that allows them to purchase expensive cars."

Big profits in the drug trade do not come until one reaches a mid-level sales position. This includes the "beeper boys," so called because of their reliance on beepers and cellular phones, who have built up enough of a regular clientele to retire from direct street selling. Customers call them directly to make appointments for buys.

In any case, most street-level dealers cannot hold onto the profits from dealing because they are drug users themselves. Up until about 1985, research consistently showed that most of these dealers had been drug abusers who began selling to support their habits. But this has changed. More than half of the 1,000 crack users Fagan and Johnson interviewed in New York City over the past two years sold cocaine before they began using crack.

Despite the rules many drug-dealing gangs have against narcotics use by members, a high proportion of young dealers appear to get "seduced by the pipe" as they grow older. "Initially, when kids get involved in [selling] crack, they start out as non-users," said Rickman. "But as they stay involved over a period of time they become users." While only 25 to 30 percent of the 13- to 17-year-olds arrested in Washington, D.C., test positive for drugs when apprehended, among older arrestees the figure jumps to 70 percent. And among adults arrested for selling drugs, 90 percent reported that they were regular drug users.

The Search for Effective Deterrents

The threat of arrest is not an effective deterrent for those involved in or contemplating drug dealing. Among one group of adolescents in Washington, D.C., who admitted to selling drugs, fully one third reported prior arrests. Fagan said that literally all of the crack users in his New York City survey had been in jail. Bourgois remarked that for some people in some inner city neighborhoods, going to jail is "a rite of passage, a definition of adulthood." Laurie Gundst, a journalist who is writing about West Indian drug posses, described an incarcerated Jamaican posse leader in New York City who said he was "lucky" to be in jail because he was safer there, given the violence on the street.

It is the violence of the drug trade that frightens off many prospective young dealers. Respondents in an Urban Institute survey of about 400 adolescents in Washington, D.C., said they believed a drug dealer was more likely to be injured or killed over the course of a year than to go to jail. (Given the overload on the criminal justice system, this may be an accurate assessment.) More than one in four of the youths said he had carried a concealed weapon; more than one in five said he had been part of a group that attacked or threatened another individual; and five percent had shot, stabbed, or killed someone. When the young people were asked why they had stopped dealing or had not gotten involved in drug dealing at all, they typically responded that it was because they had witnessed first-hand the impact of drug violence—like the shooting death of a friend or relative.

The Policy Implications of the Research

Several facts directly challenge the way policy makers and the public tend to view the drug problem. First, drug users/abusers and drug sellers are *not* two distinct populations and should not be treated as such. Many sellers are on the street to support a habit. Investing in more prevention, education, and treatment programs could reduce the number of *sellers* on the street by reducing their own need for the drug (as well as the general demand).

Second, jail is not an effective deterrent for the drug dealing population. Given the violence in the streets, jail (especially in local correctional institutions and juvenile detention centers) is too often viewed as a rest rather than as punishment.

Third, job training and employment programs could appear very attractive to those in entry-level positions in the drug trade. In corporate-style gang organizations, the large sums made from dealing drugs are not trickling down to the lowest echelons. After some months of risking the violence on the streets for a relatively low return, a good number of street dealers might be willing to try the legitimate labor market if given the opportunity.

Finally, policy makers need to think about intervention that offers constructive alternatives and safe havens to the children in drug-infested neighborhoods. Carl Taylor decried the fact that drug dealers are widely admired and emulated by youngsters there. He worried about the values these children would have as adults, and warned that when "children [are] nurtured on hate and rejection and isolation" we will all eventually pay for their neglect as crime, violence, and dependency increase. ■

A detailed report of the roundtable's deliberations, entitled "Crime, Drugs, and Urban Poverty," is available from the Joint Center.

"I'm Not a Pork Barrel Politician"

On His 100th Day in Congress, U.S. Rep. Craig Washington From Houston Discussed a Broad Range of Issues With Editor David Ruffin

Craig A. Washington, 48, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on December 9, 1989, to fill the vacancy left by Mickey Leland, who died in a plane crash in Ethiopia last August. Washington, a criminal defense lawyer, has served in the Texas state house of representatives (1973 to 1983) and the state senate (1983 to 1990). He was sworn in as a member of Congress on January 23, 1990.

Q: What issues do you plan to stake out as your own as a member of Congress?

A: I think my role is to work in combination with other people—I don't see myself trying to find a niche—I usually spread myself thin working on lots of different issues because they're all interrelated.

Q: How do you expect to use your office to improve the economic situation back home in Houston?

A: In economics, very little. I'm not a pork barrel politician. My role is not to get elected, to serve as a member of Congress just to see how many things I can drag in a sack back to Houston. If all of us did that, we'd have 435 sacks going back all over the nation but no one working for the common good of all the people. I think we have to get away from being provincial in our thinking. It's not "What did my congressman do for the district?" but rather, "What did Congress do for the nation?"

Q: What should we do about the drug problem?

A: We should deemphasize the criminal aspect as far as the users are concerned and treat that aspect of the drug problem for what it is—it's a health care problem. I think we need to provide more funding for drug treatment on demand for persons who have become addicted to narcotic substances.

Q: How can we provide health care to the poor?

A: We need a system of national health insurance that provides coverage for all persons in this country, whether they're citizens or not, based upon need.

Q: Can we save our young people?

A: Sure we can. We come back to education. Education is the long-term solution to the drug problem, the health care problem, and employment, and it's the long-term solution to the problem of making this society *one* society.

Q: What should federal policy be on education?

A: We should impose some standards to measure the level of achievement of persons who are going through our school system. We should impose some standards on who is qualified to teach and who isn't. The people who are not qualified to teach need to be driving trucks—or something other than teaching our children. And the people who are qualified to teach ought to be paid a decent wage so they'll stay in the classroom where they are needed.

Q: Can you comment on George Bush's leadership?

A: Leadership starts at the top. When John F. Kennedy was president, there was a clear, unambiguous message that we were moving forward on civil rights. Leadership is when people decide what's right and do it—rather than following public opinion. Public opinion tells you how to follow, it doesn't tell you how to lead.

Q: Do you think some black politicians are backing away from issues that have long been on the black agenda in order to appeal to a broader base of support?

A: Hopefully, by the time you get to be an adult—old enough to be elected to public office—your philosophy about things should be rather settled. I'm always a bit suspicious of people who can find ways to change their philosophy, because that means they really didn't have one to begin with, as far as I'm concerned. I'd rather be what I am, even if it means having a smaller constituency or being less well accepted.

Q: What's your position on abortion?

A: I am unalterably opposed to the government interfering in the decision that a woman in consultation with her physician and her God and the father of the child should make with respect to the termination of a pregnancy.

Q: The death penalty?

A: I am unalterably opposed to the death penalty in any form for any reason, because I believe that the government commits murder when it takes a human life just as much as the perpetrator of a crime commits murder when he takes a life.

Q: Do you think black congressional representation in Texas will expand as a result of redistricting next year?

A: I believe that the configuration of congressional districts will be such that there's a better than equal chance that another person who happens to be black will be elected from the Dallas area. I'd like to see that done without diluting the impact we [blacks] have on the larger system. I don't think the ultimate goal is to elect people who happen to be black, but to elect people who generally support causes that black people are interested in.

Q: Overall, how do you feel about your first 100 days in Congress?

A: It's for real. Basically, this job runs on your word—loyalty, trust, and doing what you say you're going to do. I've enjoyed my first 100 days. But there's a lot of work to be done—I'll never run out of things to do. ■

Wilder and Jackson

(Continued from page 4)

political activist Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) favors the abolition of capitalism and the formation of a separate black state in the southern United States. Left-nationalism had its beginnings in the life work of W.E.B. Du Bois who, early in this century, described himself as a "socialist-of-the-path," promoted Pan-Africanism, and advocated an independent black economy in the United States. The earliest left-nationalist organization was the African Blood Brotherhood, established in 1919 by Cyril Briggs and Richard Moore, who sympathized with Garvey's nationalism but criticized him for championing capitalism and for precluding alliances with white workers.

Conclusion

In light of the history of African American politics, it is apparent that the Wilder-Jackson comparison has been greatly overworked. Certainly neither's views are new. Nor are they extreme. Both Jackson and Wilder are liberal reconstructionists. They share a basic faith in the integrity of whites and of American political and economic institutions, but also a common recognition of the depth and nature of American racism. Both are committed to reform through conventional political methods.

The differences between these two men are more of form than substance. They are the differences between a chief executive and a political organizer. Jackson, who has established himself as a tireless spokesperson for the disadvantaged, is best described as a "movement" leader who defines the political agenda and mobilizes the rank and file. Wilder, who has benefited from the movement, has downplayed race in building the broad electoral coalition necessary to winning statewide office.

Upon reflection, the alleged policy differences between Wilder and Jackson seem small. Jackson advocates public policy which will help blacks to improve their collective status, a position balanced by his strong emphasis on black self-help and his efforts, through Operation Push, to make the private sector more responsive to black needs. Although Wilder advocates fiscal responsibility and progress through economic growth and plays down the need for further government initiatives, the jury is still out on him. Wilder's initial acts as governor of Virginia suggest he is continuing the strong liberal agenda he pursued when he was a state legislator in the 1970s and 1980s. During the state's current budget crunch, Wilder has refused to cut funding for primary and secondary education, and he has eliminated a regressive sales tax on nonprescription drugs, both important issues to economically disadvantaged groups.

W.E.B Du Bois observed nearly a century ago the danger of African Americans' viewing themselves and their differences through the veil of the dominant culture—of seeing themselves from the perspective of whites. That danger persists. The tendency of pundits to exaggerate the differences between Wilder and Jackson indicates how narrow the debate on race and class has become in the United States. During the Reagan years, the white conservative movement dominated the political agenda so successfully that the term *liberal,* whether applied to blacks or whites, became a pejorative label and moderate reformers were viewed as extreme. In fact, the liberal views articulated by Wilder and Jackson are held by a wide spectrum of African Americans. Both men are part of the long tradition of American reform politics. ■

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Volume 18, No. 6 June 1990

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

South Africa's Death Squads

Special Police and Military Teams Are Terrorizing Anti-Apartheid Organizations and Killing Their Leaders

Remaking U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean

Congressman George Crockett Is Working With Caribbean Leaders to Make U.S. Foreign Policy More Responsive to the Region's Economic Needs

Hardcore Cocaine Use On the Rise

Increased Addiction to Crack and Cocaine Is Straining Social Services and Law Enforcement Institutions Nationwide

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ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

On Mandela, the U.S. and Africa

A near universal respect bordering on reverence has grown around the name of Nelson Mandela, who for many personifies the human will to be free. The South African government was unable to still his voice or break his heroic spirit even after 27 years of imprisonment. Yet what we admire most about this statesman is not that he endured those long harsh years of confinement, but that he emerged with his humanity intact. Indeed, he is able to sit down with his former captors free of bitterness.

Mandela's cause stands out for its moral clarity against the brutality and injustice of a system where police death squads still murder those who dare stand in opposition. His presence in our country should remind all of us that the struggle in South Africa to abolish apartheid and secure genuine democracy is far from over. While we recognize that South African State President F. W. de Klerk has removed some of the oppressive policies of his predecessor, it is clear that he must go much further to accommodate the just demands of Mandela. First steps are just now being taken on the road to true democracy.

The Mandela visit also challenges us to refocus U.S. foreign policy on other areas of the African continent that deserve our attention and concern. The U.S. has strategic, economic, and humanitarian interests in Africa, which in addition to everything else is a treasure trove of strategic minerals and other natural resources and remains a largely untapped market for American goods and services. Furthermore, many of the 51 African states are influential members of the United Nations and of other international organizations of which the U.S. is a member. We need their political support in these bodies.

Many nations on this continent desperately need our help. Famine continues to prey upon starving millions. A band of South African-supported terrorists is waging a war in Mozambique, where even children are pressed into the killing fields as combatants. Civil strife is ravaging Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, and Angola. Moreover, many African nations are saddled with huge debts to industrialized countries, choking economic development.

As we reassess our policy on Africa, we must not lose sight of the success stories. Ivory Coast and Gabon are humane societies with stable economies. Senegal is a democracy with a genuine multiparty political system. And in Zimbabwe, a multiracial society can boast that the civil and political rights of its white minority are protected.

In a new, more positive policy toward Africa, the United States should choose to stand with Nelson Mandela and to provide assistance to the African National Congress. We must maintain economic sanctions as leverage to press the South African government to accelerate the process that will bring full political equality to its black population. We should support increased development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean. Michigan Congressman George Crockett's aid bill (the Mickey Leland African and Caribbean Development Act—H.R. 4443) is designed to do just that. The bill would increase development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean from $673 million to $1 billion.

The U.S. can also support development on the continent by restructuring and forgiving some of the crushing debts of African countries. Finally, we are in an excellent position to be a force for peace in Africa. There are many conflicts that our good offices might help to settle. This continent, the ancestral home of 35 million Americans, needs our understanding, friendship, and support. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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South Africa's Death Squads

Special Police and Military Teams Are Terrorizing Anti-Apartheid Organizations and Killing Their Leaders

by Gay McDougall and Carl Soderbergh

"Bheka, these Boers are after me." Those were the words of South African human rights lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, to a colleague after being released in Durban from questioning by the South African Police in November 1981. Mxenge had been held on suspicion of channelling funds to the African National Congress (ANC). He also called his brother in Ireland and told him that he was worried. Only days later, Mxenge's body was found mutilated. He had been stabbed 45 times, his throat had been slashed and his ears cut off. The attack was made to look like a robbery since Mxenge's car had disappeared and his jacket and wallet had been taken.

In fact, evidence has emerged that Mxenge was murdered by a death squad operating under the auspices of the South African Police. His death is one of numerous unsolved killings, including the tragic deaths of anti-apartheid activist David Webster in May, 1989, and of human rights lawyer Anton Lubowski that autumn.

Until recently, government complicity in political killings had been suspected but never proven. That changed last October when Butana Almond Nofomela confessed that he had belonged to a South African Police death squad. This was the first hard evidence that scores of anti-apartheid activists may have been killed by death squads controlled by South African police and military.

At first, South African State President F.W. de Klerk refused to address the allegations. In response to pressure from human rights groups, however, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced on January 31, 1990, the formation of a judicial commission of inquiry. The sole commissioner is South African judge Louis Harms. The commission began its inquiry in February of this year, and on its first official day Orange Free State Attorney General T. McNally presented a list of 71 unsolved politically motivated killings since 1977. While its investigations have been restricted to attacks which occurred inside South Africa, evidence presented to the Harms Commission has revealed the following:

- The death squads target key anti-apartheid leaders in a calculated plan to terrorize and eradicate the opposition;
- Several death squads controlled by South African police and military organizations have existed in South Africa at least since 1981;
- The activities of the death squads extend far beyond the borders of the country;
- The annual budget is very high (28 million rand or about $10.5 million annually for one death squad alone), making claims of ignorance from high government officials doubtful;
- The death squads continue their activities today.

Ms. McDougall is an attorney and the director of the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. Mr. Soderbergh is a human rights attorney from Sweden who is interning at the Lawyer's Committee.

The Bloody Trail of Murders

Griffiths Mxenge is only one victim on a long list of people killed under mysterious circumstances. Tragically, his wife, Victoria Mxenge, was slain four years later by unknown assailants. The Human Rights Commission, a private human rights organization in South Africa, estimated last year that approximately 61 anti-apartheid activists had been killed in the country since 1978. In only two cases was anyone ever brought to trial. The Human Rights Commission also reported that, during the same period, at least 61 more activists and family members were assassinated while in exile. The ANC states that at least 60 of its members have been assassinated outside South Africa. These figures do not include the hundreds of cases where individuals have died at the hands of government-backed vigilantes.

Eleven assassinations were documented in 1989 alone. Among them was the death of David Webster, founding member of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, who was shot outside his home in a Johannesburg suburb last May. Two men were detained for that murder in October, but they have since been released. One reportedly told his father that he had been under the command of South African Military Intelligence. Another victim, Anton Lubowski, a lawyer and the first white to openly proclaim his membership in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), was shot at least 20 times with an AK-47 assault rifle last September outside his home in Windhoek, Namibia.

In addition to assassinations, offices and members of opposition groups have been targeted in a variety of attacks, including bombings, thefts, and vandalism. In a pre-

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South Africa's Death Squads

(Continued from page 3)

liminary report completed last autumn for the period since 1985, the Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression counted 165 incendiary attacks; 15 bombings; 47 reported cases of vandalism; and 37 reported burglaries (thefts mainly of files). The Board was formed in July 1989 to investigate assassinations and attacks on anti-apartheid organizations. Although these assaults follow a clear pattern aimed at subduing opposition to apartheid, proving they were the work of the South African government had remained difficult until recently.

Government Involvement Proven

The startling confession of Butana Almond Nofomela has laid responsibility for many unsolved murders squarely with the South African government. Nofomela, who is black, served with the security branch of the South African Police from 1981 through most of 1987. His signed affidavit of October 19, 1989, details his role in a police death squad known as Unit C1. Nofomela was due to hang the following day for a murder unrelated to his work for Unit C1, but with the affidavit the government granted a stay in his execution.

The facts of Nofomela's confession have been confirmed by death squad leaders. Nofomela named Brigadier Willem Schoon and Captain Johannes Dirk Coetzee, his superiors on the police force, as leaders of his death squad. Both are white. Nofomela said he was involved in at least eight killings and numerous kidnappings. He told his lawyers that the death squad was stationed at Vlakplaas farm, located in the Transvaal near Pretoria and leased from a private citizen.

Nofomela reported that he and other members of the death squad were told by Coetzee that Griffiths Mxenge "was to be eliminated for his activities within the African National Congress." "[Coetzee] instructed us specifically not to shoot Mxenge, but to kill him with a knife," Nofomela said. On the night of the murder, Nofomela and three other death squad members parked their pick-up truck near Mxenge's house in Umlazi Township and acted as if they had suffered a mechanical break-down. When Mxenge stopped to offer help, Nofomela drew a gun. Mxenge was taken to Umlazi Stadium, where, Nofomela stated,

> We then started assaulting him with kicks and punches, until he fell to the ground. We then all stabbed him several times. He immediately died, and we carried on butchering his body. In accordance with our instructions from Captain Coetzee, we removed Mxenge's items of value, like money and a watch, in order to simulate a robbery.

Each of the participants was paid a one-thousand rand bonus (about $377).

Brigadier Schoon "coincidentally" retired only days after Nofomela's affidavit was taken. Coetzee, fearing that he would be marked as a scapegoat, fled to exile in Mauritius. There, in an interview with the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* on November 17, he confirmed many of the details in Nofomela's affidavit including: his instructions that Mxenge had to be knifed and not shot, the names of the other assailants, and the thousand-rand bonus. Coetzee claims his orders to kill Mxenge came from Brigadier Jan Van den Hoeven, Port Natal police commander.

Coetzee described other murders as well. Among the victims he identified were two ex-ANC members who were being "uncooperative" and Sizwe Kodile, a university student who suffered brain damage during interrogation in 1981, allegedly jumped out of a window and then had to be gotten rid of. Coetzee also described several bombings and killings in Botswana and Swaziland. He said he took part in a break-in at the office in Swaziland of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. An envelope stolen from that office, he said, was later used to send the letter-bomb which killed anti-apartheid writer Ruth First in 1982. "I was in the heart of the whore," Coetzee said. "I know the deepest secrets of this unit, which was above the law. I am guilty of, or at least an accomplice to, several murders."

The Military's Hand of Death

At about the same time that the Harms Commission was announced, evidence of a second death squad surfaced. This group, known as the Civilian Cooperation Bureau (CCB), is sponsored by the South African Defence Force (SADF). One of the CCB's planned targets was Dullah Omar, a prominent opposition lawyer. Heart-attack-inducing pills were allegedly going to be substituted for Omar's normal heart medicine. The plan failed. Another reported assassination target, who was not killed, was Gavin Evans, a journalist with the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* and a member of the End Conscription Campaign.

On February 10 of this year, Defense Minister Magnus Malan said that the purpose of the CCB (known in Afrikaans as Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo or BSB) was simply to gather information on the enemies of South Africa. Malan also assured the Harms Commission that all CCB operations had been suspended. The CCB chief, Colonel Joe Verster, was placed in detention under the terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, apparently in an attempt by the military to find a scapegoat.

High-ranking military officers have been implicated in connection with the CCB, including General Witkop Badenhorst, currently chief of staff for Military Intelligence, and Major General Eddie Webb, head of SADF Special Forces. When Webb testified, he contradicted Malan's statement that the CCB was no longer operating. Webb asked Justice Harms to close the CCB inquiry to the public, since "more or less two hundred projects that the CCB is currently engaged in could be jeopardized."

On March 29, Lieutenant Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, a

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June 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Southern runoff primaries remain resistant to court challenges from civil rights lawyers.**
- **An experimental Wisconsin education voucher program is opposed by public school advocates.**
- **Washington, D.C., area members of the Nation of Islam are the first from that religious organization to run for elective office.**
- **Across the Nation: Kenneth "Muskie" Harris wins the GOP nomination in Arkansas; Democrat Harvey Gantt wins the right to challenge incumbent Jesse Helms for his U.S. Senate seat from North Carolina; Theo Walker Mitchell wins the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in South Carolina; and the Louisiana state legislature kills a bill to eliminate minority business set-asides and calls on the U.S. Congress to study reparations for blacks.**

The Struggle Over Runoff Primaries

With their May court challenge to Georgia's primary system, civil rights groups continue the fight to do away with runoffs throughout the South, charging that they are discriminatory and violate the Voting Rights Act. Runoffs are used to nominate candidates in nine Southern and border states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, and Texas). In most of the South, if no candidate wins a majority of the votes in a primary, the top two vote-getters must face each other in a second primary, or runoff. Critics of the system say that, until recently, these second primaries have spelled doom for many black political aspirants seeking congressional or statewide office because they dilute the influence of minority voters. Often, a minority candidate who wins the plurality of votes in the first primary loses in the runoff to the white opponent, who is aided by white bloc voting. It was for this reason that Jesse Jackson sought to abolish the Democratic party's runoff primaries in the 1984 presidential campaign.

Yet for Southern Democratic leaders, race is only one of several facets of the runoff. They fear that eliminating or drastically changing the runoff system could fundamentally alter Southern politics, which is now dominated by their party. Without runoffs, they argue, black candidates in states like Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina—where the black voting-age population ranges from 20 to 30 percent—could earn a plurality of the votes in a single primary but then be unable to attract white voters in the general election. These Democratic leaders are concerned that in cases where black (or white liberal) candidates do not have broad-based appeal, whites will cross party affiliation to vote Republican.

The most recent state to revise its runoff primary law was North Carolina. In 1988, after two successive failures to enact legislation eliminating runoffs, black state Rep. **H.M. "MICKEY" MICHAUX** (D-Durham), himself a casualty of the runoff system, was able to get a law passed to lower the threshold of votes that would trigger a runoff from a 50 percent majority to 40 percent plurality. In the 1982 Democratic primary race for North Carolina's 2nd congressional district (left vacant by retiring congressman **L.H. FOUNTAIN**), Michaux beat second-place finisher **TIM VALENTINE** 45-to-33 percent in the primary, but then lost to Valentine in the runoff. Valentine later won the general election. A similar fate befell former Chapel Hill mayor Howard Lee when he lost a runoff election for lieutenant governor in 1976.

Efforts to secure changes through the courts have been less successful than in state legislatures. A 1986 lawsuit in Mississippi challenging runoff elections was dismissed. In a more recent case in Arkansas, a federal court of appeals let stand a lower court decision affirming the state's present runoff system. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is deciding whether to appeal the Arkansas case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In Georgia, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has asked the courts to delay the state's July 17 pri-

mary pending a judicial ruling. Democrat **ANDREW YOUNG** is expected to be one of the top vote-getters in his party's gubernatorial primary there. Young opposes the ACLU lawsuit, even though he is running in a four-candidate primary field that includes Lieutenant Governor **ZELL MILLER.** Neither Young nor Miller is expected to win a majority. Young, however, says he is interested in winning not only the primary but also the general election, and therefore opposes efforts to change the system.

Given the saturation by black officeholders of majority-black districts and jurisdictions (created in the 1980s in response to judicial Voting Rights Acts challenges), future opportunities for black political aspirants are likely to be in non-majority-black districts and in statewide offices, places where runoffs have the greatest consequence. The fight over runoffs continues to be a source of division within the Democratic party in the South, between blacks whose clout is increasing within the party and whites who are being lured toward the GOP. Although without runoffs Democratic nominees lacking broad appeal could lose some elections to Republicans, if runoffs are maintained disgruntled supporters of black or white runoff losers might refuse to back the victorious nominee in the general election. Reconciling this dilemma will probably keep the Democratic party occupied for years to come.

Education Vouchers Cause Furor in Wisconsin

Starting this fall, 1,000 inner-city Milwaukee families with children in grades one through six will receive up to $2,500 in state funds to send each child to any Milwaukee County school they choose—public, private, or parochial. Teachers' groups and black organizations are concerned that the five-year pilot program, known as the Parental Choice Initiative, will draw resources away from urban centers and might not deliver on the promise of providing minority children a better education.

The initiative will provide low-income, inner-city families with financing credits (vouchers) that may be used at any participating school. (Parents are responsible for transportation.) The plan calls for the eventual expansion of the program to include other parts of the state where the school boards agree to allow transfers. Conservative Republican Wisconsin governor TOMMY THOMPSON proposed a similar voucher program in 1988 but was unable to get it passed by the legislature. The current voucher plan was sponsored by black state representative ANNETTE "POLLY" WILLIAMS from Milwaukee, a one-time welfare recipient who chaired JESSE JACKSON'S Wisconsin presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988. The measure was strongly backed by Thompson and won passage by the Wisconsin state legislature last year. Neighboring Minnesota's experimental "Open Enrollment" demonstration program, which also allows parents to shop around for schools, is in its third year and serves almost 1,000 children. It will become mandatory for all school districts this coming school year despite opposition by the Minnesota Education Association.

Educational vouchers are just one component of Wisconsin's conservative "public choice" agenda, which is based on the concept that a competitive market—survival of the fittest—is the best way to provide public services. Thompson is a strong proponent of that agenda. In addition to advocating school vouchers, he has implemented other controversial policies, including a Learnfare program whereby Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments are cut off from families whose teenage children are not attending school. (With the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' approval, granted in June, the program is being expanded to include children age 6 to 12). Thompson is also attempting to implement a two-tier welfare system under which people who migrate to Wisconsin from states with lower welfare payments will be denied the higher Wisconsin rate for their first six months of Wisconsin residency (see *Political TrendLetter,* February 1990).

Local opponents of the Parental Choice Initiative, including the Milwaukee teachers union, fear that with the mass implementation of a voucher system, private, parochial, and suburban schools will become the institutions of choice, likely to skim off the best students and siphon money away from inner-city public schools. State senate majority leader JOSEPH STROHL (D-Racine) warns that the initiative will "have the effect of eroding the quality of our public schools" and "further weakening the sending schools."

The appropriateness of competition in providing education is also part of the controversy. Some educators argue that if government relinquishes a portion of its responsibility for providing education and essentially becomes an issuer of vouchers, there will be no way to guarantee equal access to education among America's diverse population. Furthermore, some schools may refuse admittance to inadequately prepared children from poor neighborhoods. Milwaukee's most selective private school, University School in River Hills, has decided not to participate in the program after learning that the school might be expected to waive the difference between the $2,500 state payment and its $4,665 to $5,565 tuition. The issue of church-state

separation is also a factor in the debate, since it will be difficult to ensure that public money used for tuition at a church-sponsored school is not subsidizing religious instruction.

Finally, critics of vouchers worry that the students least likely to benefit may be the very ones educational vouchers are being touted to help—disadvantaged minority children in the inner city. According to EVELYN K. MOORE, executive director of the Washington, D.C. based National Black Child Development Institute, those suffering most in urban public school districts will have little freedom of choice. Moore warns that "vouchers would do little to help poor parents because many don't have cars to take their children to schools far from home and often don't have the time to shop around for new schools for their children."

Although few blacks share Rep. Williams' support for voucher programs, she has become a highly visible travelling spokesperson for what has become a controversial white issue. It remains to be seen whether other states will follow Wisconsin and Minnesota's lead in enacting voucher plans. In 1989, parental choice or educational voucher proposals were under consideration in 20 state legislatures.

Muslim Politics

For the first time in its 60-year history, members of the Nation of Islam have chosen to enter electoral politics. Three Muslim candidates, GEORGE X. CURE, SHAWN X. BRACKEEN, and ABDUL ALIM MUHAMMAD are running for various offices in the Washington, D.C. area. None of them has any previous political experience. Cure, an attorney, is running in a crowded field for the post of non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives from the District of Columbia. That seat is being vacated by WALTER FAUNTROY, now a candidate for D.C. mayor (see Across the Nation, May 1990). Brackeen, a D.C. schoolteacher, is running for an at-large D.C. school board seat. And Dr. Muhammad, a surgeon, Muslim minister, and national spokesperson for Nation of Islam leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN, is seeking the 5th congressional district seat in Prince Georges County, Maryland, currently held by STENY H. HOYER, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. Although the District is about 50 percent black, Hoyer, who is white, has enjoyed considerable black support while in Congress.

Charging that some black politicians are morally corrupt and more responsive to the white power structure than to their black constituents, the Muslim candidates are campaigning on a platform of disciplined and moral black leadership. Farrakhan says of the Muslim candidates, "You can't offer them a strange woman because they have their wives. There is not going to be any backroom smoking and drinking. And you can't serve them any drugs."

The Muslims first departed from their long established practice of political separatism in 1984 when members helped register blacks to aid Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. The Washington, D.C., area is where the Nation of Islam has run its successful and well publicized Dopebusters drug-fighting program to reclaim black neighborhoods from crack dealers. Dr. Muhammad is executive director of the Dopebusters program. Farrakhan, noting that it is time to "come out into the community to serve the needs of all with equal justice, all with equal representation," has challenged whites and the media to "accept these [candidates] in the same spirit that you accept any who step forward to serve." These campaigns are probably test-case races. Depending on their outcome, there may be future Muslim candidates for elective office in other parts of the country.

BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT: *BLACK VOTES COUNT*

Mississippi, a state once synonymous with racism and segregation, has made unprecedented strides in "attaining democracy and political justice for its black citizens" since passage of the Voting Rights Act, writes **FRANK R. PARKER** in his new book, *Black Votes Count*. Parker, who directs the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington, spent 13 years as a civil rights lawyer in Mississippi. As of January 1990, Mississippi had 669 black elected officials—the second highest number (after Alabama) for any state. Yet Parker also notes that those gains remain in jeopardy, as some of Mississippi's white politicians continue to try to dilute the voting strength of the state's 36 percent black population through at-large elections, racial gerrymandering, and the conversion of elective offices to appointed ones.

The book is available in paperback ($12.95) and hardcover ($29.95) from the University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288 (or call toll-free, 1-800-848-6224). A 20 percent discount is available from the publisher to those who identify themselves as *Focus* subscribers.

Across the Nation

ARKANSAS: Capturing 86 percent of the vote, black former college football star KENNETH "MUSKIE" HARRIS rolled over white supremacist RALPH FORBES in a June 12 runoff primary for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor. The picture had looked very different two weeks earlier, when Forbes finished first in the May 29 primary, garnering 46 percent of the vote to Harris's 36 percent. ROB BREAUX, owner of a printing company, had come in third. Since no candidate polled more than 50 percent of the votes, the two top vote getters, Forbes and Harris, went head-to-head in the June runoff.

Harris, well known as a defensive back for the University of Arkansas Razorbacks in the 1970s, now manages a realty company in Little Rock. He was unsuccessful in previous bids for state representative and for a seat on the Little Rock board of directors (equivalent to a city council). This year, Harris is campaigning on a platform of economic development, improved services for senior citizens, and increased funding for education, while opposing abortion.

Forbes, an avowed segregationist and fundamentalist minister from Pope County, is the executive director of the Sword of the Lord Good News Ministries. A former member of the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan, he opposes the idea of black and white people serving in the same government. The lieutenant governor's post, which pays $14,000 a year, is largely ceremonial. Nevertheless, during his campaign Forbes claimed that, if elected, he would convene a special session of the state general assembly as soon as the governor travelled outside of the state, so it could consider outlawing abortion. Forbes was recently an aide to David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and current Louisiana state representative and GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate. Like Duke, Forbes has attempted to use the electoral process to advance white supremacist and extreme right-wing philosophies.

Since registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in Arkansas by five-to-one, Harris is unlikely to beat the Democratic nominee, former state attorney general and one-term congressman **JIM "GUY" TUCKER,** in the November general election. With 344 black elected officeholders, according to the Joint Center's 1990 *Roster* of black elected officials (BEOs), Arkansas has the eighth highest number of BEOs in any state. Nevertheless, the state currently has no black members of Congress or statewide elected officials, and only six blacks, all Democrats, serve in Arkansas' 135-member state general assembly.

NORTH CAROLINA: HARVEY GANTT, the black former mayor of Charlotte, has emerged as the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate after defeating Brunswick County prosecutor MICHAEL EASLEY in the June 5 runoff primary. His victory gives Gantt the right to face three-term Republican senator JESSE HELMS in November.

Gantt defeated Easley by a strong 57 to 43 percent, despite a voter turnout of only 25 percent. Gantt garnered broad support from the state's major metropolitan areas: Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, and the coastal city of Wilmington.

With his war chest depleted by the two primary battles, Gantt faces an uphill battle against Helms, widely known for the effective direct-mail fund-raising of his political action committee, the Congressional Club. Compounding Gantt's fund-raising troubles, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has dragged its feet in providing financial backing for his campaign, according to Washington insiders.

Meanwhile, the right-wing Senator Helms has already raised six million dollars and is expected to spend large sums on negative media ads similar to those he used against former governor JAMES HUNT, who challenged Helms unsuccessfully in 1984 (Helms outspent Hunt $16.5 million to $9.4 million).

Gantt, a political progressive, offers a clear ideological alternative to Helms, who is known for his strident opposition to civil rights enforcement and reproductive choice and for his support for the death penalty.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Black state senator THEO WALKER MITCHELL from the city of Greenville, has won his bid to become the Democratic gubernatorial nominee and to take on popular incumbent Republican governor CARROLL CAMPBELL in the general election. Mitchell has represented his majority black community in the state legislature for the past 16 years. In the June 12 primary, he beat white senate colleague ERNIE PASSAILAIGUE with 60 percent of the vote.

While Mitchell can credit much of his success in the primary to his grassroots campaigning, especially among black churches, he'll now have to broaden his base of support among the voters and raise more money if he is going to prevail against Campbell. He'll also need the strong backing of his party, which so far has not been energetic in supporting him. This lack of enthusiasm for Mitchell is viewed by black Democratic leaders in the state as symptomatic of how the white Democratic power structure feels about blacks in the party generally.

For some blacks, the Mitchell race is not only an election campaign, it has become a struggle for more clout in the party apparatus as well. In a state that is 30 percent black, no blacks are currently members of Congress, mayors of major cities, or holders of statewide office. And black politicians complain that the party does not stand with them on a redistricting strategy or efforts to abolish at-large election systems that dilute the black vote. One black party insider, who asked not to be named, says, "Former two-term Democratic governor **RICHARD RILEY** and former lieutenant governor **MIKE DANIEL,** the unsuccessful 1986 gubernatorial nominee, both white, got the full support of the party. But what we're seeing now is a subtle backing away from Mitchell by the party leadership, and we're getting tired of that kind of double standard."

LOUISIANA: A bill to "prohibit discrimination in affirmative action," which would outlaw minority business set-asides in Louisiana, passed the state house of representatives by a vote of 66-to-26 on May 29. The bill, which was sponsored by Republican state representative DAVID DUKE, a white supremacist and former KKK grand imperial wizard, has been referred to the Senate Finance Committee. In spite of the bill's apparently strong backing in the house, black state senator WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON from New Orleans, who is a member of the finance committee, says the bill is dead. The senate committee passed his motion to defer the bill indefinitely. "Duke is a skillful political maneuverer, and he keeps introducing anti-black legislation in the cloak of good government," says Jefferson, "but getting the bill passed by the House was an aberration."

In an unrelated move, the state legislature recently passed a joint resolution calling on Congress to look into the possibility of providing reparations to the descendants of American slaves. The measure, which is advisory in nature, asks Congress to study the impact of slavery and racial and economic discrimination on African-Americans and to recommend remedies.

Remaking U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean

Congressman George Crockett Is Working With the People and Leaders of the Caribbean to Make U.S. Foreign Policy More Responsive to the Economic Needs of the Region

by Atherton Martin and Greg Asbed

Through the lens of tourist brochures and television dramas, the Caribbean appears an inviting place, its exotic landscape filled with smiling faces and the lilting music of steel drums. Yet beneath this facade, life for the majority of the people is anything but a fantasy. The region faces serious economic problems, many of which have their origins in its colonial past. Much of the Caribbean saw its debt to developed countries soar in the 1980s, while during this same period the terms of trade for the region's major exports deteriorated precipitously.

The most important U.S. economic development strategy for the region during the 1980s was the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), passed by Congress in 1983. The CBI purported to revitalize area economies by promoting increased U.S. investments, which in theory would create jobs and expand exports to the U.S. market. After seven years of the CBI strategy, however, U.S. investors have not flocked to the Caribbean. More jobs have been lost in agriculture and industry than were created, the region's trade balance with the U.S. has worsened significantly, and many of the needs and priorities of the Caribbean people remain ignored. Today, most nations in the region face rising unemployment, growing food shortages, and deterioration in the health of their populations.

Many in the Caribbean are nevertheless hopeful that a legislative proposal introduced by Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.) will address some of these problems and amend CBI's deficiencies.

CBI Is Not the Whole Answer

The Caribbean Basin Initiative emphasized bilateral aid and trade relations between the U.S. and countries in the region. Central to the new initiative was a provision to increase quotas, lower duties, and remove other barriers to imports from the Caribbean to the U.S. Unfortunately, the plan fell victim to domestic U.S. politics. Members of Congress representing districts with textile, footwear, leather, and tuna industries were able to remove import preferences for these products, on the grounds that they were thereby protecting domestic U.S. industries from Caribbean competition. Protection of these key industries essentially gutted CBI as a catalyst for economic growth in the region.

Furthermore, CBI was externally conceived, financed, and directed and made no provision for grassroots participation. By not involving groups representing the Caribbean's youth, farmers, workers, or women, U.S. policy makers failed to take advantage of local expertise in the formulation and execution of the CBI strategy. And by insisting on creating new institutions financed, staffed, and controlled by U.S. personnel, the CBI program excluded the managers and technicians of indigenous Caribbean agencies (such as the Caribbean Common Market, formed in 1973, and the Caribbean Development Bank) who could have played a meaningful role in the area's revitalization.

Toward a Remedy

In 1987 and 1988, Congressman Crockett held four hearings in Washington and two conferences in Barbados with representatives of local farmers, workers, women, and small manufacturers. These meetings led Crockett, who is chair of the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, to introduce the Caribbean Regional Development Act in 1989.

Without denigrating the value of the trade and investment components of CBI, Crockett's legislation targets U.S. aid to the region so that it more directly helps those it is intended to benefit. Development assistance would be directed to support democratic Caribbean institutions that benefit the poor.

The legislation lays out 11 broad priorities for U.S. economic assistance to the Caribbean: increased food produc-

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Remaking U.S. Policy

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tion; rural development; support for small- and medium-scale enterprises; expansion of tourism; regional economic integration; upgrading technical and managerial skills through scholarships, training, and other means; sensitivity to environmental protection; private sector development and export promotion; support for democracy; and improved human services.

The proposal aims to achieve these goals through the involvement of a broad range of public, private, and non-governmental organizations in programs of economic diversification. Government-to-government assistance is to be supplemented by aid that would be directed to local grassroots and community organizations. Small- and medium-scale manufacturing and agriculture, however, are seen as the primary engines of growth and employment. Therefore, credits to small farmers would be designed to deemphasize traditional cash crops (sugar, bananas, and citrus crops) and expand food production for local consumption. This would reduce the dependence on food imports and stem the outflow of foreign exchange to pay for them.

A Rocky Road in Congress

The Crockett bill calls for $60 million in government-to-government economic support funds and $93.6 million in development assistance that would be targeted to projects. With the strong support of Rep. Dante Fascell, chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill has been incorporated into two major House foreign aid authorization bills. Ultimate adoption by Congress is problematic, however, since action on foreign assistance has been stalled in the Senate.

The growing consensus in the region among leaders of government, the private sector, and grassroots organizations is that the Caribbean has its best chance for sustained development through closer cooperation among the countries. Crockett's bill honors this approach and could signal an important new direction in U.S. policy. ■

The Colonial Legacy of Economic Constriction

The roots of the present crisis in the Caribbean run much deeper than the failed U.S. development policies of the 1980s. Many of the region's problems are the byproduct of more than 300 years of colonialism. Caribbean colonies were restricted to buying and selling almost exclusively with Europe, precluding the development of trade partnerships with other nations in and out of the region.

As the dominant form of production, the colonial plantation system itself left the region a dual heritage. It monopolized the best agricultural lands, limiting the region's capacity for industrialization and food production, and it made each island dependent on one or two agricultural exports (usually sugar, bananas, or citrus crops). In 1958, the Federation of the West Indies was inaugurated, with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados at the forefront of the united colonies. In 1959, Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba. These two events represented different answers to the same central question put before the Caribbean's emerging political leaders. How would economic development be possible for the tiny nations of the Caribbean with their high levels of unemployment, illiteracy, and racial inequality and with economies that were bound to a single principal trading partner?

The U.S. response to the Cuban model of socialist sovereignty sent a clear message to the neighboring nations: political independence must stop short of economic self-determination, and any direct challenge to the western, free-enterprise model of economic growth would not be tolerated. This message set the parameters within which the nascent independence movement in the British West Indies would have to operate after the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Great Britain had been filled by the United States.

As elsewhere in the hemisphere, U.S. economic stewardship in the Caribbean was governed by an export-led, market-oriented model of economic development. However, the U.S. did not encourage the ure of local resources and expertise in ways that would strengthen links among the economies of the region and reduce their dependence on foreign aid.

The newly independent nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean began to exhibit the classic symptoms of "underdevelopment." Economies that had been self-sufficient in food production during colonial times became net importers of basic food staples as small-scale farmers converted their acreage to cash crops, leading in turn to urban unemployment on an unprecedented scale. Social services in areas such as transportation, health, housing, and education were stretched thin while the crime rate spiraled upward.

In response to these crises, development models along the lines of the Federation of the West Indies were resurrected and, in 1973, the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) was founded, forging intraregional links in production, finance and credit, marketing, professional training, health services, transportation, culture, sports, and diplomatic representation. Nevertheless, this approach had only limited success, and the promise held out 10 years later by the Caribbean Basin Initiative has gone equally unfulfilled.

Hardcore Cocaine Use on the Rise

Increased Addiction to "Crack" and Cocaine Is Straining Social Services and Law Enforcement Institutions Nationwide

by Katherine McFate and Dennis Hoyle

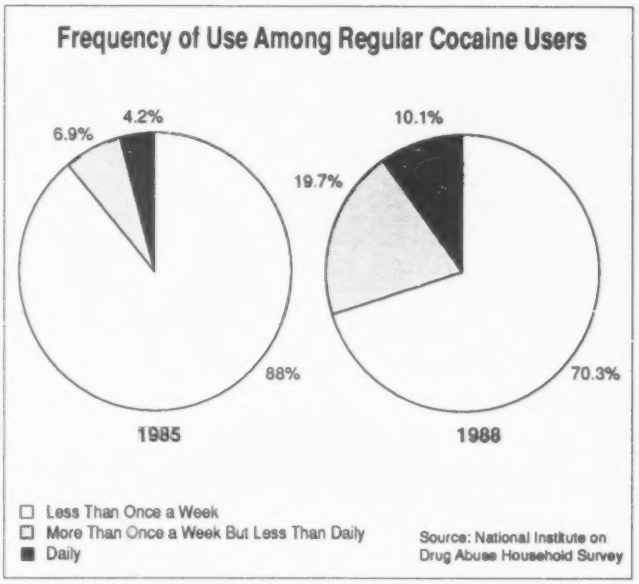
In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically, making the drug less expensive. At the same time, a new, more addictive form of cocaine—"crack"—began to appear in the nation's major cities. These two developments made cocaine much more accessible, and by the mid-1980s the epidemic of cocaine abuse had spread across the nation, hitting poor central city neighborhoods the hardest.

The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) in 1985 and 1988, indicates that casual (or occasional) use of illicit drugs has significantly decreased since 1985. However, the same surveys show that among regular cocaine users, the proportion of hardcore abusers (who reported using cocaine weekly or daily) tripled between 1985 and 1988 (see chart).

During the same period, NIDA reported a similarly steep rise in the number of hospital emergency room cases in which patients tested positive for cocaine. In the 21 major metropolitan areas studied by NIDA, these cases more than quadrupled, increasing from 10,248 to 42,511. Even more disturbing, the percentage of individuals in these cocaine-related episodes who reported that they were "dependent" on cocaine rose from 42 to 63 percent.

Hardcore users present serious challenges to society. They are likely to commit street crimes to support their habits, and their subsequent arrests further cram already overcrowded jails and choke the judicial system. A rapid increase in young female cocaine addicts has also exacerbated a number of public health problems. Many female addicts support their drug habits through prostitution, and the number of pregnant addicts is growing.

One NIDA study estimated that 11 percent of all children born in the U.S. in 1988 had been exposed to drugs. Some central city hospitals report that 60 percent of pregnant women test positive for cocaine, and other surveys show that one in four babies is born with cocaine in its blood system. As the first wave of cocaine-exposed children enters public school, they are creating a new set of challenges for already struggling urban school systems. Teachers and administrators are being asked to educate children with new health and developmental problems added to the known disadvantages of growing up in chronically poor neighborhoods.



Another side-effect of this epidemic is that the children of drug abusers, who do not receive adequate care, are flooding the child welfare systems of many large cities. In Los Angeles, foster care placement of drug-exposed children increased elevenfold between 1981 and 1987.

Public health systems are being overwhelmed by the cost of treating emergency room patients, overdoses, drug-exposed and abandoned "boarder babies," and addicts seeking detoxification. Last year, hospitals in Washington, D.C., spent $176 million on non-reimbursed indigent health care, much of it drug-related. Caring for each drug-exposed baby generally costs $20,000 to $30,000 for the first six weeks; a boarder baby can cost $100,000 a year to support.

The pressing problems associated with the drug epidemic are common to many American communities: a large number of addicts without access to treatment programs; escalating drug-related public health costs; and high rates of violence and homicide among young males. Those problems, coupled with the large and growing number of hardcore cocaine users, are straining municipal services to the breaking point. Unfortunately, the data indicate that things are likely to get worse before they get better. ■

Ms. McFate is a research associate and Mr. Hoyle is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

South Africa's Death Squads

(Continued from page 4)

white former member of the CCB, disputed Malan's assertion that the organization was merely an information-gathering group. He said that the CCB's aim was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the Republic of South Africa." Van Zyl confirmed the plot to poison Dullah Omar, and added that Omar's death had been called for by high ranking military officials because he was viewed as an "enemy of the state." Van Zyl also said that he had been ordered on August 25, 1989, to monitor the movements of Lubowski in Cape Town and Johannesburg only weeks before Lubowski's death.

Evidence presented to the Harms Commission has indicated that the CCB had a budget of 28 million rand ($10.5 million) per year. Van Zyl said his monthly salary was 3,500 rand ($1,320), plus a pension contribution of 800 rand ($302) per month and two productivity bonuses of 3,000 rand ($1,132) per year. In addition, he received a BMW automobile, housing, telephone allowances, and free medical care. A bookkeeper for the SADF implied that little care was given to accounting for CCB funds, and the group supplied no explanations for its expenses.

The Killing Continues

The Harms Commission has been obstructed in several ways. The CCB and the South African Defence Force have not been forthcoming with requested documents. Indeed, most of the financial and operational records have "disappeared." The inquiry's geographic limitation, which restricts it to acts within South Africa, has also hindered the production of evidence. At one point, Brian Tshikalange, an accomplice in the Mxenge murder, was interrupted while describing an operation into Botswana; his description would have added credence to his claim that he was an assassin.

It is feared that the geographic limitation may offer a *carte blanche* for assassinations to continue outside the country. A rash of murders this year has already confirmed these fears. On April 23, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member Sam Chand and his family were gunned down in their Botswana home. On April 28, Anglican chaplain Michael Lapsley, who lives in Zimbabwe, received a letter-bomb. He lost one eye, his left hand, and most of his right hand. Lapsley is a member of the ANC.

Attacks suspected to be the work of death squads continue inside South Africa as well. On April 7, Aldo Mogano, an activist in Alexandra Township near Johannesburg, was shot to death outside his house by unknown assailants. There has also been a series of mysterious car crashes involving PAC members. In mid-April, PAC president Japhta Masemola died near Pretoria in a collision. In a second crash, PAC member Ishmael Chand died enroute to the funeral of his brother Sam. On May 3, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander entered the hospital in critical condition following a third car accident.

The South African government's handling of the Lubowski inquiry makes it appear doubtful that any of the assassins will ever be brought to trial. The day after Lubowski was murdered, the Namibian authorities detained Donald Acheson, an Irish national and reputed mercenary. In light of its inquiries into Lubowski's death, the Namibian government sought the extradition of six South Africans, five of whom were alleged to be members of the CCB. Two of the individuals sought were to stand trial as co-defendants with Acheson. The others were requested as witnesses. However, following Namibian independence, the South African government refused to grant extradition, forcing the Namibian government to release Acheson on May 7 of this year for lack of evidence.

Justice Harms is scheduled to complete his inquiry next month, and a report of his findings will eventually be released. Unfortunately, it seems doubtful that the Harms Commission will have any real effect on ending death squad activities. Despite the revelations of commission testimony so far, the killing continues. ■

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